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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Iloko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciamandá*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
776 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that
[833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
824 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assán*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:
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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for k lling one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
[848] generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbôl* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiya-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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595 merely cite here a few cases, all of them in the immediate neighborhood of Kabugaw.

The "presidente" or mayor of the municipal district of Kabugaw, an Isneg from Bolo, has been living in bigamy for many years, and recently he has taken to himself a third wife with all the pomp proper to Isneg marriages. *Ilsúy*, a former candidate for "presidente", who lives at the other side of the river from Kabugaw, once told me that formerly he had had six wives, but that unfortunately by this time two of them had died; notwithstanding the multitude of his women, *Ilsuy* has no offspring. A Nagbabalayan man boasted to me of the fact that two of his children of about the same age belonged to two different women. At Lettuakan *Kadáw's* son had three wives until one of them left him, with the direful results previously recounted (CAC-P, 3:146-47): the quarrel between *Kadáw* and *Pa-rdy* and the killing of *Rukkadćń* by *Kadáw*. The late *Rukkadćń* himself, a Baliwanan man, also lived in bigamy, and the chief of the provincial police here, a Musimut man, recently attempted to take a second wife in the person of a Bayag girl, but the affair miscarried. Not so long ago, when I was going from Futtul to Tawit, my canoe was poled up the river by three Isneg: two women and their husband. And so on. Now, when one takes into consideration the multifarious expenses incident to the performance of the marriage ceremonies, it is beyond question that only the comparatively well-to-do can afford to take more than one wife, and so if polygamy is not more frequent, the reason again is an economical one.

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There does not seem to be any difference in the state of the women, in cases of polygamy; all of them are married with the same ceremonies and they mostly live happily together, helping one another in their daily work and each one attending to her own offspring. Quarrels do not seem to be more frequent among them than among any other two independent women living under the same roof, and both enjoy the same rights both during their lifetime, and after their demise with reference to the inheritance of their children from their common father. Not a few Isneg wives are even glad to have one or more other ones to help them in order to alleviate the heavy burden of feeding a much-exacting husband; and so, instead of being a source of disagreement, polygamy often brings contentment in its wake.

I would be inclined to say that polyandry does not exist among the Isneg, were it not that I know of one case: two brothers, *Bundy* and *Pílāy*, married one woman, *Túndy*, at Nagilian (municipal district of

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *táding* or price agreed upon at the *amómân*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit*; and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómân* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not 857 have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

000 for those old dishes?" he said. The men began to think that probably the pup,y was not really a puppy. They noticed that when it sat down, it always sat beside Enoy, who was his father. He said his name was Magnac. The men divided the meat of the wild pig and went home. But Ewagan, uncle of the boy, stayed behind in order, he said, to help the puppy to carry his share of the meat. Then the puppy changed back into a boy. Ewagan asked: "Where is your share?" The boy said: "Maybe the dogs ate it." Instead he had taken it into the magic house which the men could not see. The boy persuaded Ewagan to go to his house. He followed his nephew and found a wonderful house in the place where they had caught the wild pig. He was ashamed to enter it; but the boy finally persuaded him to go in and told him all about who he was.

The next day Dinkoan and Linadolan and Enoy went hunting for the third time in the same place. The dogs again caught a pig there, and Ewagan came out of the house and explained to Enoy that the puppy was his son. Enoy did not go home that day. Ewagan went home with his cousins. Enoy slept with his
842 son in the house. Ewagan had explained to him how Lananan had eaten the bundle of rice which Enoy had used while bathing and so became pregnant. He advised Enoy to stay there and work and help Lananan and the boy; because they were truly his wife and son.
[152] Enoy was ashamed because the son had not come in the regular way. The woman said that her brothers did not like that way either and wanted a ceremony to be held so that the marriage would be regular. She

She chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled: